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HISTORY AS ETHICS

OUTLINE OF LECTURE STUDIES ON
THE ETHICAL INTERPRETATION
OF HISTORY

BY

PHILIP VAN NESS MYERS

SOMETIME PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI
AUTHOR OF "A GENERAL HISTORY," ETC.



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Ethics gives to history its rational goal; and all morality has the perfect shaping of universal history as its ultimate end. A real understanding of history is not possible without ethics. — WUTTKE.

Ethics, if it is to become truly a science, must shun the path of speculation and follow closely the historical method. . . . The great desideratum, the sole condition of ethical progress, is the suspension of all philosophizing until an ethical science has been constructed through a comprehensive study of the phenomena of universal morality. — SCHURMAN.

The real advance made by Thucydides consists, perhaps, in this, that he perceived the motive forces of human history to lie in the moral constitution of human nature. — RANKE.

Der Weg, den sie weitergehen könnte, wird sich niemand offenbaren, der nicht die Wege kannte, die sie gegangen ist. — LIPPERT.

HISTORY AS ETHICS

OUTLINE OF LECTURE STUDIES

ON

THE ETHICAL INTERPRETATION OF HISTORY

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I

INTRODUCTION

1. Man's ideas and feelings of duty as a subject of historical study. The present an account of the common conscience of different races and times, and not an account of the ethical systems or theories of philosophers.

2. The moral as the ultimate goal in history. "Universal history is the realization of the moral" (*Wuttke*). "The creation of a moral order on an ever-growing scale is the great historical task of mankind" (*Cooley*).

3. The ethical interpretation of history. The essence of the historical evolution consists in moral progress. The political, intellectual, economic, and religious developments subsidiary to the moral evolution. The ethical motive the constant and growing factor in human progress. "There is no human function so constant as the activities in accordance with virtue" (*Aristotle*). The most important fact of the cosmic evolution is that the ethical impulses have from the beginning been gradually becoming more and more dominant in the evolutionary process.

4. In what moral progress consists: (1) in "the increasing clearness, fullness, and fineness of the moral perceptions;" and (2) in a gradual extension of the range of persons embraced by the moral feelings. "It is not the sense of duty to a neighbor, but the practical answer to the question, Who is my neighbor? that has varied" (*T. H. Green*).

5. Sources of the history of morals. The facts making up the moral history of mankind must be sought in political, social, and economic histories, in the customs, mythologies, literatures, philosophies, institutions, law systems, and religions of different races and times.

6. The moral ideal, type, or standard. "The ideal may be expressed in a code of commandments, in a series of injunctions, or in the form of a life which is set up as a model for our imitation" (*Mackenzie*).

7. Analogy between types of beauty and of goodness. "There are many distinct casts of goodness, as there are many distinct casts of beauty" (*Lecky*). Composite moral types.

8. Causes which create or modify the ideal: (1) stages of intellectual development; (2) physical environment; (3) social and political institutions; (4) occupation; and (5) speculative and religious ideas.

9. In what virtue or moral goodness consists: "The essential thing in this world is not to serve this ideal or that one, but with all one's soul to serve the ideal which one has chosen" (*Sabatier*).

10. The basis of historical ethical judgments. "A man must learn a great deal to enable him to pass a correct judgment on another man's acts" (*Marcus Aurelius*). Peoples and times must be judged by their own moral standards.

II

THE DAWN OF MORALITY: CONSCIENCE IN THE
KINSHIP GROUP*A. Conditions of Life and Thought determining the Rudimentary
Character of the Code of Morals*

1. The kinship group (family, clan, tribe) with its feeling of corporate oneness. "The tribal self." The two bonds uniting the members of the group,—the bond of blood and the bond of religion.

2. The soul theory and conception of the life after death. The continuance theory (*Tylor*).

3. Nonethical conceptions of the god-world. Primitive man makes the gods in his own image.

4. The state of attack and defense in which life is passed, competition and struggle for life being between communities and not between individuals.

B. Rules of Conduct

5. First, we should note that the life of primitive peoples is chiefly *unmoral*, the activities to secure food, shelter, and clothing arising from purely animal impulses, such as hunger, cold, etc. The gradual entrance into these activities of an ethical element is one of the most important facts of the moral evolution of mankind (*Wundt*). Second, we should note that the morality of primitive races is chiefly "negative morality."

6. The true starting point of the historical ethical development is to be sought in the moral sentiments nourished in the atmosphere of the kinship group. "The spring of virtuous action is the social instinct, which is set to work by the practice of comradeship" (*Clifford*).

7. Custom as the maker of the rules of group morality. Morality consists in following custom. Conscience is tribal rather than individual.

8. The principle of collective responsibility. The group and not the individual is the ethical unit. Survivals of this principle of communal responsibility in modern ethics.

9. The duty of blood revenge. Ground of the sacredness of this obligation.

10. The virtue of courage. Under this virtue is hidden the virtue of self-sacrifice or devotion to the common welfare.

11. The general nonethical character of early religion.

12. The ethical element in ancestor worship. The importance of this cult in the moral as in the social and political evolution of mankind. What morality owes to the worship of the hearth-fire (*Bosanquet*).

13. The beginnings of intertribal morality :

a. The code regulating conduct within the kinship group is at first not applicable to strangers. "Thou shalt not kill meant thou shalt not kill within the tribe" (*Thomas*). It is the same with stealing and lying. There arises thus a double standard of morality, one intratribal and another intertribal. This dualism runs through all moral history. In modern morality it finds expression in the inconsistencies of the nations' ethics of peace and their ethics of war (*Spencer*).

b. Hospitality or the guest right ; the first step beyond kinship or group morality (*Lippert*).

c. The treaty right ; the second step beyond kinship or group morality (*Lippert*).

d. Mitigations in primitive warfare effected, in part at least, by the growth of moral feeling : the discontinuance of man-hunting expeditions for securing food, of the practice of eating the bodies of enemies slain in battle, and of the use of poisoned arrows. The beginnings of the moralization of war.

14. The reaction of intertribal morality upon intratribal morality, though at first promotive of the moral evolution, becomes later a drag on moral progress.

III

THE MORAL LIFE OF ANCIENT EGYPT

A. Conceptions of Man and the Universe which gave a Special Cast to Egyptian Morality

1. The doctrine of religious dualism as embodied in the myth of Osiris and Set. At first simply a physical myth of the life-giving Nile and the barren desert, of light and darkness, it gradually acquired a moral content and meaning, and, as a representation of the eternal opposition between moral good and moral evil, became an educative force in the moral life of Egypt. Nature as a moral teacher.

2. The doctrine of immortality and the nature and requirements of the soul in the afterlife.

3. The Osirian myth in its special development, which told of the life of Osiris on earth, of his death and resurrection, and of his office as king and judge of the underworld.

B. The Moral Standard

4. Egyptian morality during the historic age a study in moral statics. The same immobility characterizes the moral phase of Egyptian civilization that marks all its other phases. The conscience with which Egyptian history closes essentially the same as that with which it opens.

5. But the progressive refinement and clarification of the moral feelings in predynastic times is attested (1) by the moralization of the Osirian myth; (2) by the abandonment of the practice of human sacrifices at the tomb, as shown by the substitution of the ka-image for human victims (*Maspero* and *Wiedermann*); and (3) by the transition from the continuance to the retribution theory (*Tylor*). In its changing arrangements and ethical classifications the world of souls is ever a register of the changing and growing moral

consciousness of mankind. "The other world answers to this as the spectrum to the source of light" (*Peschel*).

6. The relation of the religion to the morality. The religious development ceased before the conceptions of the gods were in general moralized. The little educative value of the temple ritual.

7. Influence of the Osirian cult upon the moral life. Osiris as the moral exemplar.

8. The dowering of the dead as a pious duty.

9. The Judgment of the Dead and the Negative Confession, — a remarkable creation of the moral consciousness of ancient Egypt. The stress is laid upon social rather than upon religious duties.

10. The moral precepts of Ptahotep; an ethical conception of riches and of public office.

11. In common with the general conscience of antiquity the Egyptian conscience sanctioned slavery.

12. The ethics of war; the lagging of this part of the moral code.

13. Influence of the moral ideal upon Egyptian life and history.

IV

THE MORALITY OF THE BABYLONIANS AND ASSYRIANS

1. The information which the cuneiform texts have yielded concerning the moral life of the Mesopotamian peoples, though scanty, is of the greatest value to the student of comparative morals, not only because it casts light upon a moral development in some important respects like the moral evolution of the kindred Semitic People of Israel, but also because that later evolution was deeply influenced by it. "In the seventh century before Christ, if not earlier, the Babylonians and Assyrians possessed a system of morality which in many respects resembled that of the descendants of Abraham" (*King*).

2. On account of its general nonethical character the Babylonian religion — it was largely pure shamanism — reacted only feebly on the moral life.

3. However, there were ethical tendencies in the religion, as is evidenced by the so-called penitential psalms and hymns, which are filled with genuine moral feeling and aspiration.

4. The significance of the persistence, without serious protest (*Maspero*), of a nonethical conception of the life after death.

5. The ethical spirit of the laws; the Code of Hammurabi. This compilation of laws is an embodiment of the social, industrial, and commercial morality of the times,—an advanced morality, yet one with serious limitations and defects. Punishment is often meted out in accordance with the primitive principles of the *Lex talionis* and collective responsibility.

6. International morality: the war ethics of the Assyrians.

V

CHINESE MORALS: AN IDEAL OF FILIAL PIETY

A. *Ideas, Institutions, and Circumstances of History that molded the Moral Ideal*

1. Vagueness in the conception of the Supreme Being.

2. The conception of human nature as good (cf. Christian belief in the "fall of man").

3. Ancestor worship: the ethical value of this cult.

4. Conception of the past as perfect. Import for ethics of the manner of conceiving this past.

5. The teachings of great moralists: Confucius (b. 551 B.C.) and Mencius (b. about 370 B.C.). The personal equation in the history of morals.

6. Geographical and cultural isolation.

B. *The Moral Ideal*

7. It is noteworthy that the leaders and teachers of no people, save the prophets of Israel, have so insistently interpreted life and history in terms of ethics as have the sages of China.

8. The four cardinal virtues of the moral ideal: (1) filial obedience or piety; (2) reverence towards superiors; (3) a conforming to ancient custom; (4) the maintenance of the just medium. "To go beyond is as wrong as to fall short" (*Analects*).

9. The duty of intellectual self-culture. The sages taught that learning and moral goodness run together.

10. The duties of rulers. Never have the duties of rulers been more insistently inculcated than by the moral teachers of China.

11. Disesteem of the heroic or martial virtues. The emperor of China alone, among the great secular rulers of the world, never wears a sword (*Okakura*).

12. Principles and inner disposition.

13. Defects of the ideal; no duties to God, and the duties of parents to children neglected (*Legge*).

C. Effects of the Moral Ideal upon Chinese Life and History

14. Degree of conformity between the ideal and practice. Difference between the morality of the official class and that of the common people.

15. The ideal has exalted the family life.

16. It has lent stability to Chinese institutions. Chinese society the sole survivor from the ancient world of culture.

17. It has fostered learning.

18. It has, however, created undue reverence for the past and thus checked progress. The Chinese disapproval of innovation in any and every domain of life like our reprobation of innovations in the domain of religion.

19. It has contributed, through the exaggerated stress laid upon the principle of the just medium, to produce a dull uniformity of life. Chinese life "the prose of existence."

20. Through the multiplicity of minute rules of conduct it has fostered formalism, ceremonialism. There is lack of the inner spirit and of depth and earnestness in the moral life.

21. It has checked the growth of feelings of parental responsibility ; infanticide.
22. Impending changes in the ideal.

VI

JAPANESE MORALS: AN IDEAL OF LOYALTY

A. Formative and Modifying Influences

1. Introductory : a practically independent evolution in morals.
2. The solidarity of the family.
3. Shinto, or ancestor worship.
4. The monarchy of divine origin.
5. Feudalism — fostered martial and chivalric virtues.
6. Confucianism — brought in elements of the Chinese ethical system.
7. Buddhism — inculcated gentleness and courtesy.
8. Western civilization ; contact with the life and thought of the West is effecting profound modifications in the ethical type.

B. The Code of Morals

9. Bushido, as the ideal of chivalry, forms the heart and core of Japanese morality.
10. Unquestioning obedience and absolute loyalty to the emperor, cardinal duties. "To fear the emperor and to keep his commandments is the full duty of man" (*Scherer*).
11. Filial piety ; duty to one's parents second only to duty to the emperor.
12. Suicide regarded as a noble and virtuous act.
13. Family ethics ; woman as wife and mother. Difference between the family ethics of the East and the family ethics of the West. "In the East woman has always been worshiped as the mother" (*Kakuro*).

C. Some Significant Facts in the Moral History of Japan

14. Influence of the moral ideal of Bushido; it has left a permanent impress upon the moral consciousness of the nation, and has been a chief force in the creation of the new Japan. The hara-kiri of feudalism and the imperial restoration; a remarkable passage in the moral history of Japan.

15. How the Japanese virtue of self-devotion ("the spirit of not living unto one's self"), exalted to a degree the world has never seen surpassed, gave Japan the victory in her struggle with Russia for national existence.

16. The faulty morality of the trader. "The obloquy attached to the calling [a social stigma attached here to shopkeeping as in ancient Greece] brought within the pale such as cared little for social repute" (*Nitobé*). The moral standard of the samurai in competition with that of the plebeian trader.

17. Disregard of truthfulness a serious defect in Japanese morality. "Liar" not a term of reproach.

18. Near-at-hand and significant changes in the Japanese ideal of character through the absorption of the science and culture of the Occident.

VII

THE ETHICAL IDEALS OF INDIA

A. The Ethics of Brahmanism; an Ideal of Asceticism

I. Historical and Speculative Basis of the System.

1. The conception of Brahma — an impersonal first cause.
2. The system of castes.
3. The character given woman in the sacred books.
4. The doctrine of transmigration.
5. Indian pessimism.

6. The all-important place given by the Brahmans to sacrifice. "They [the gods] live by sacrifice; the sun would not rise if the priests did not make sacrifice."

II. *The Moral System.*

7. A class morality; different ideals or codes of conduct for the different castes.

8. The highest ideal of excellence. The realization of this ideal opens the way of escape from the wearisome cycle of existence; but the ideal is attainable only by Brahmans.

9. The codes of conduct for the inferior castes.

10. Animal ethics; to kill any creature wantonly is a crime.

11. War ethics; military virtues assigned a low place in the standard of character.

12. At the heart of Brahmanism a core of true morality; naturalism versus ritualism.

B. *The Ethics of Buddhism; an Ideal of Renunciation*

I. *The Speculative Basis of the System.*

13. Similarity in the ethical motives of the movements which, in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., agitated the chief lands of culture throughout the world (*Rhys Davids*). Buddha, Pythagoras, Isaiah, Zarathustra, Confucius.

14. The social, religious, and climatic environment out of which Buddhism arose: (1) the oppressive caste system; (2) the exclusiveness of the way to salvation; (3) the growing dissidence between the requirements of the Brahmanic cult, with its burdensome sacrifices, and the growing intelligence and moral feelings of men; (4) the depressing climate of the Ganges valley, into which the Aryans had now pressed.

15. Jainism, the forerunner of Buddhism.

16. Buddha "the Enlightened."

17. The first postulate of Buddhism is a denial of the soul theory (karma).

18. The second postulate of Buddhism is that pain and sorrow are inseparable from existence.

19. The third postulate of Buddhism is that desire is the cause of rebirth.

20. The fourth postulate of Buddhism is that existence can be got rid of only by getting rid of all desires. The "whole forest of desires," not one tree only, must be cut down (*Dhammapala*).

II. *The Moral Ideal.*

21. The fourfold way to Nirvana.

22. Respecting the state of desirelessness.

23. The double meaning of the term "Nirvana"; it means, first, that state of perfect peace which follows the attainment of absolute freedom from all desire; and, second, extinction of existence, nothingness (*Rhys Davids*).

24. The ethical content of Buddha's message.

25. The cardinal virtues of the moral ideal: (1) man's first duty is to seek knowledge, for knowledge is the cure of desire; (2) another cardinal virtue is universal benevolence; (3) a third requirement is toleration; (4) and a fourth is to proclaim to all the glad tidings.

26. The different degrees of moral attainment: Arhatship; the Order; and the ordinary life.

27. The naturalism of Buddhistic ethics; Buddha's protest against ceremonial morality like the protest of the Hebrew prophets.

28. The genuine altruistic spirit of Buddhism. Since it denies the existence of the soul, — the seed of another but different life (karma) only remaining at death, — when one strives to break the chain of existence, to make an end of the weary cycle of births, such a one is seeking good not for himself but for another. "It is to save from sorrow the son of one's acts that one should seek to find the end" (*Hopkins*).

III. *Expressions of the Ethical Spirit of Buddhism.*

29. The moral ideal of Buddhism such a force in the life of the East as the moral ideal of Christianity has been in the life of the West.

30. Buddhistic monasticism.

31. Practical effects of the animal ethics of Buddhism.

32. The Buddhistic spirit of religious toleration. "There is no record known to me in the whole history of Buddhism . . . of any persecution of the followers of another faith" (*Rhys Davids*).

33. Disapproval of the military life; abatement of the war spirit in Buddhistic lands.

34. Buddhistic charities an expression of a morality of sympathy and gentleness.

35. Significance for the moral evolution of mankind of the wide ethical unity created by Buddhism; the ethical conquests of Buddhism supplemental to those of Christianity.

VIII

THE ETHICS OF ZOROASTRIANISM; AN IDEAL OF COMBAT

A. *Philosophical and Religious Ideas which created the Ethical Type*

1. Religious dualism. The thinkers of Iran never attained the conviction that He who is the author of the good in the world is the author likewise of the evil. Their dualistic world philosophy reacted powerfully on the moral ideal.

2. Conception of the character of the supreme God, Ahura Mazda. Celestial morality as product and as cause.

3. Doctrine of the sacredness of the elements,—fire, earth, and water. From this doctrine arose one large division of the moral code.

4. The appearance of a great reformer, Zarathustra. The ethical system bears unmistakably the impress of the moral consciousness of a unique personality.

B. *The Moral Ideal*

5. The essence of the moral life is a struggle against evil and a striving after inner purification. "A morality of vigor and manliness" (*Wuttke*). There was no place in the ideal for those ascetic virtues, — celibacy, fasting, self-torture, — which conferred sainthood in India.

6. Truthfulness the paramount virtue, — a virtue fostered by the conception of Ahura as the god of sincerity and truth.

7. The duty of industry; the ethics of labor. Labor was idealized, and all work, even the most lowly, made a sacred thing.

8. Animal ethics. Iranian ethics, in opposition to Indian ethics, makes a distinction between useful animals and baneful creatures.

9. Duty of protecting the purity of the elements. This division of the Persian code, based on the idea of the holiness of the elements, will best be understood by comparing it with that division of the Christian code which is based on the idea of the holiness of a certain portion of time.

C. *The Practice*

10. Effects of the moral ideal upon the Persian character; produced "a race of earnest Puritans," — a strong, self-reliant, aggressive, conquering race. "For them the good dwelt in action" (*Cumont*).

11. Persian veneration for the truth. The Persians had an enviable reputation as a truth-speaking people.

12. Influence of the ideal upon Persian history. As the ethical element of Mithraism it became a potent agency in the life of Rome during the first centuries of the Empire (*Cumont*). Still an unexpended force in history.

IX

THE MORAL EVOLUTION IN ISRAEL: AN IDEAL OF OBEDIENCE

A. The Religious Basis of Hebrew Morality

1. Introductory : Israel's historic task a moral one.
2. The conception of deity ; Yahweh at first a tribal god. The essential point of difference between the Israelites and the kindred Semitic tribes about them was that the Israelites were monolatrists, while these kindred tribes were polytheists. This monolatry was the starting point of a religious and ethical development charged with the deepest significance not alone for Israel but for humanity.
3. The belief in a supernaturally revealed law. After the idea of God, this was the most potent force in molding the moral ideal of Israel.
4. Special ground of the Israelites' feeling that obedience to the law was their highest duty. The deliverance from Egyptian bondage and the covenant at Mt. Sinai.
5. The rite of sacrifice is here ethicalized and becomes a vehicle of moral instruction. A remarkable evolution.
6. The vagueness of the belief in an afterlife caused much troubled ethical speculation and led to theories of the moral government of the world which have influenced deeply the thoughts and the conduct of men.

*B. The Evolution of the Moral Ideal**I. The Moral Development before the Exile.*

7. The primitive moral code that of the Semitic pastoral nomad. The principle of collective responsibility prevailed, and blood revenge was a sacred duty.
8. The Decalogue an embodiment of this early morality. The Ten Commandments are rules governing the conduct of members

of the same community towards one another only, and not towards outsiders.

9. The moral anarchy of the age of the judges, which followed the migration and settlement in Canaan, like the moral anarchy which followed the migration and settlement of the German tribes in the provinces of the Roman Empire. The moral peril in transition periods.

10. Prophetism the chief phenomenon in Hebrew history. Its different elements, — nomadic, socialistic, predictive, ethical, monotheistic (*Wellhausen*); the ethical element the one historically important.

11. The beginning of historical prophetism; Elijah and Elisha. There was in this early prophetism a large nomadic element. It was vehement, fanatical, and intolerant, like English Puritanism, which, in truth, was a revival of it. Its appearance on the whole one of the most important events in the moral history of the world.

12. The moral advance represented by Amos (760 B.C.) and Hosea (738–735 B.C.). A true social morality; what pleases Yahweh is not fasts and sacrifices but justice and righteousness. We reach here ethical monolatry; ethical monotheism lies not far in the future.

13. The ideal of the brotherhood of nations and universal peace. The relation of this ideal to the growth of the world power of Assyria. Isaiah and Micah the representatives of this ethical cosmopolitanism.

14. Denunciatory prophecy correlated with the lack of a belief in a future life of rewards and punishments (*Renan*).

15. The prophetic spirit creates a unique ethical literature. The moral consciousness of the loftier minds in Israel set an indelible ethical stamp upon the myths and legends of the nation and created a sacred literature that has been a main motive force in the moral evolution of the Western world.

16. The moralizing of pagan festivals and cults. The same ethical spirit that moralized the literature gave a moral content,

meaning, and educative value to festivals and cults which were at first without ethical import (*Wellhausen*).

17. The composite morality of the Deuteronomic code ; it contained priestly elements and elements bearing the stamp of the true prophetic spirit.

18. The ritual ethics of the code ; here the dominant motive of the compilers is a dread and abhorrence of idolatry, like the dread and abhorrence of heresy in medieval times in Europe. This part of the code has exercised a sinister influence upon the development of morality from King Josiah down to our own day.

19. Social ethics of the code ; its spirit of charity and tenderness towards the poor and the oppressed. "Never was the love of the humble and neglected carried so far" (*Renan*).

20. Defects (other than its ritualistic tendencies) and limitations of the code ; its utilitarian, outer, narrow, and intolerant spirit ; its savage war ethics.

II. *The Morality of the Prophets of the Exile.*

21. The effects of the captivity upon the moral evolution in Israel.

22. The second Isaiah ; ethical monotheism at last. Religion and morality at one.

23. Repudiation of the doctrine of collective responsibility.

24. The doctrine of the suffering of the righteous as vicarious and expiatory ; the ideal of the Suffering Servant of Yahweh and its historical importance and ethical value.

III. *The Moral Life in the Postexilic Age.*

25. A ritual morality. The deification of the Law. A confusion of moral values.

26. The establishment of the synagogue and its relation to the ethical development in dispersed Israel and among the peoples that were to receive ethical instruction from her. The synagogue the prototype of the Christian basilica and the Puritan meetinghouse.

27. The new doctrine of immortality. The various influences which concurred to create this new conception of the hereafter, and to secure for this view, by the end of the Greek period, a wide acceptance. The doctrine, with its correlate teaching of future rewards and punishments, one of the most important products, in its ethical consequences, of the life and experiences of ancient Israel.

28. The expansion of the moral sympathies in the Hellenistic age. A register of the deepening and broadening of the moral sympathies is found in the Psalms of this period and the so-called Wisdom books.

X

THE MORAL CONSCIOUSNESS OF HELLAS: AN IDEAL OF SELF-REALIZATION

A. Institutions and Ideas which determined the Moral Type

1. The city-state the mold and sphere of Greek morality. The highest form of virtue was thought attainable only by the citizen.

2. The view of man's nature as good. This left no place for asceticism in the moral life.

3. The idea of harmony in the god world; the disappearance of Egyptian and Persian dualism. This emptied the moral type of everything like strenuousness and battle.

4. The character of the Greek Olympus. Apollo as the guardian of Greek morality. Delphi and Eleusis.

5. The absence of a priestly class. The supreme importance of this for Greek morals in preventing the growth of a theocratic morality; Greek morals were lay or secular.

6. The doctrine of race election; Hellenes and Barbarians (*Smyth*). This race egoism dictated large sections of the moral code.

B. The Moral Ideal

7. Civic and military duties. Devotion to one's city the cardinal requirement; "good citizen" and "good man" equivalent terms.

The virtue we name self-sacrifice hidden under the Greek military virtue of courage.

8. The intellectual virtues ; mental culture a duty, since self-realization calls especially for the development of the mind, man's true self.

9. The development of the body a duty ; the ethical impulse in Greek athleticism. *Cf.* Asiatic asceticism.

10. Identification of moral goodness with beauty. "The beautiful is *per se* the good ; in enjoying and creating the beautiful, man is moral" (*Wuttke*).

11. Self-realization, conformably to nature, sums up the moral code. "Be what you are" (*Pindar*).

C. Limitations and Defects of the Ideal

12. Its aristocratic character. "Greece had only one thing wanting, — *she despised the humble*, and did not feel the need of a just God" (*Renan*). *Cf.* Brahmanic class morality.

13. The exclusion of non-Greek races from the moral sphere. Barbarians might be hunted like animals (*Aristotle*).

14. The practical exclusion of slaves, who were regarded as incapable of a true morality.

15. The practical exclusion of the domestic sphere. Even Plato would sacrifice the family to the state.

16. The disesteem of industrial virtues. All manual work was regarded as ignoble and degrading. Aristotle taught that there is "no room for moral excellence" in laborers and traders. The grounds of this feeling. *Cf.* Chinese, Persian, and Hebrew attitude towards labor.

17. Forgiveness looked upon as a weakness ; the manliness of revenge.

18. The low estimation of truthfulness ; even the word sworn by the oath god was often broken.

D. Facts and Evidences of the Moral Evolution

19. The morality of the Homeric age; Odysseus its embodiment. "The inmost moral convictions of a people are shown more plainly in the character of its heroes than in its gods" (*Wendt*).

20. The later philosophical criticism of the Homeric stories of the gods. The moralization of the myth of Heracles.

21. The transition of the continuance theory regarding life after death into the retribution theory. Hades, the Elysian Fields, Tartarus, and the judges of the dead, Minos and Rhadamanthus.

22. The evolution of the doctrine of divine envy into that of Nemesis. This ethical development represented by Herodotus, Æschylus, and Thucydides.

23. The further development of the doctrine of Nemesis. Both Æschylus and Sophocles glimpsed the profound ethical truth that the vicissitudes of human life are the sign neither of the envy nor the righteous anger of the gods, but of the divine pity and love.

24. The notion of an inherited curse, as treated by the tragedians, shows the primitive theory of collective responsibility being transformed, through growing ethical feeling, into the doctrine of individual responsibility.

25. The amelioration of war rules and practices. The efforts of the Amphictryonic League to lay restraint upon the license of war.

26. Efforts to prevent war between Greek and Greek by arbitration. The consecration of the land of Elis to perpetual peace, and the establishment of a truce during the celebration of the Olympic games.

27. Socrates and his relation to the moral movement. His identification of knowledge and virtue; to see the good is to pursue it. His ethics in the main the ethics of his time and place.

28. Plato and his ethical system. The four cardinal virtues—wisdom, courage, temperance, and justice. The essence of the moral evolution in the Christian world has consisted in a growing richness, refinement, and extension of these Greek forms of moral excellence. Like Socrates, Plato stood on wholly Greek ground;

his ethics in the main a justification of the common Greek morality of his time.

29. Aristotle and his ethics. He assumes as the basis of his system the moral inequality of men. His influence on medieval Christian ethics.

30. Decay of the Greek city-state and the accompanying decay of the Greek ideal of character.

31. Ethical products of the Hellenistic age; Stoicism and Epicureanism.

32. The advance, in the cosmopolitan communities of the Hellenistic world, in humanitarian feelings and in ethical universalism a preparation for the incoming of the new moral idea of Christianity.

XI

ROMAN MORALS: AN IDEAL OF JUSTICE

A. Institutions and Conditions of Life which molded the Early Moral Code

1. The Roman family; ancestor worship and the *patria potestas*. A seed plot of morals.

2. The city-state, its constitution and aims. The citizen's chief sphere of moral activity.

3. The occupations of farming and war; these created sturdy and heroic virtues.

4. The religion. The Roman cults were largely nonethical, yet in various ways the religion quickened and strengthened the sense of duty.

B. The Primitive Moral Type

5. The ethics of the family. The chief virtue filial obedience.

6. Civic and military virtues. Devotion to the state the saving virtue in the Roman ideal of character.

7. The industrial virtues. The traditional peasant moral qualities of simplicity, frugality, and industry formed the tough fiber of the early Roman character.

8. Religious duties. There were religious duties but hardly religious virtues, the careful performance of religious duties being a phase of patriotism.

9. The ethics of war. In war morals Rome was the child of her age.

10. Defects of the type : (1) its narrow aristocratic character ; (2) lack of the gentler and the intellectual virtues.

C. The Moral Evolution under the Republic

11. The maintenance of the standard in early times. The qualities of character celebrated by legend.

12. The widening of the moral sympathies through the influence of conquests and advance in civilization the most important phase of the moral evolution up to the end of the Republic. The forces which effected the reconstruction of Roman society through the successive widenings of the range of classes and peoples admitted to the rights of citizenship were, in the last analysis, ethical rather than political or economic. *Cf.* the political revolutions and social reconstructions in the modern world.

13. Causes of the general decline in morals under the later Republic : (1) the passing of the city state ; (2) the economic decay of the rural class ; (3) the growth of the slave system ; (4) the disesteem of the industrial virtues ; (5) the free distribution of corn ; (6) the gladiatorial games ; (7) decay of religious faith ; (8) extremes of wealth and poverty ; (9) demoralizing influence of Eastern luxury and vice.

14. Ethical values in the Greek and Oriental civilizations ; modifications effected in the Roman moral type through contact with these older cultures.

D. The Moral Evolution under the Pagan Empire

15. The bad bequest. The morally debased society of the early Empire largely a heritage from the republican period ; but there

were, in the imperial system, fresh causes of depression of the moral standard.

16. The old and the new. "A death is more impressive than a birth" (*Wedgwood*), but the birth enfolds the promise and potency of the future.

17. The new composite ideal. The ethical contribution made by Hellas through Greek literature and philosophy.

18. Evidences in literature of the softening of the moral feelings. Cicero, Vergil, Juvenal, and Seneca the representatives of this ethical development.

19. The widening of the moral horizon; ethical universalism as the outcome of the world empire and of Stoicism. In the manifold forces making for cosmopolitanism, the age of the Empire like our own age. Cicero, Seneca, Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius the representatives of the moral movement.

20. The Stoic doctrine of the law of nature and its ethical influence.

21. Moralizing influence of Stoicism, especially its teaching of the equality of all men, on Roman government and law. "In the Stoic Emperors . . . we probably find the earliest example of great moral principles applied to legislation on a large scale" (*Clifford*).

22. Amelioration of slavery under the pagan Emperors; an important phase of the moral evolution of the pre-Christian period.

23. Ethics of the persecution of the Christians by the pagan Emperors.

24. Stoic ethical teachings Christian in tone and sentiment.

25. Some divergencies between Roman and Christian ethics. The Roman moral consciousness touching revenge, pity or compassion for suffering, and suicide.

26. The Roman ethics of war; notwithstanding the substantial progress made in the other domains of the moral life, in that of war there was practically no change under the pagan Emperors.

27. The three periods of the Roman ethical development; the moral advance marked "by the successive ascendancy of the Roman, the Greek, and the Egyptian spirit" (*Lecky*). The

insufficiency of Stoicism, which had united the best elements of the Greek and Roman types of character, as a moral guide for the multitude.

28. The Orient, through the mediation of religion (Egyptian, Persian, Hebrew), now contributes to the moral consciousness of the West elements which the classical cultures could not supply, and thus is opened a new era in the moral life of the European peoples.

XII

THE ETHICS OF CHRISTIANITY: AN IDEAL OF SELF-SACRIFICE

A. Religious Ideas and Theological Doctrines which created the New Ideal of Excellence

1. The doctrine of a supernaturally revealed moral law.
2. The doctrine of the unity of God and his universal fatherhood. This teaching especially rich in ethical consequences.
3. The idea of a future life of rewards and punishments.
4. The teaching of the sanctity of human life.
5. The devil theory and demonism.
6. The tenet of the fall of man and hereditary guilt. This doctrine the spring and source of a large part of Christian theological ethics.
7. The doctrine of a divine atonement.
8. The personality of the Prophet of Nazareth.

B. The Moral Ideal

9. The Founder of Christianity had made love and service of others the chief duty of man, but the theology of the Church early made right belief the indispensable, saving virtue. The antinomy thus introduced into Christian ethics has created a fateful dualism in the moral life and history of all the Christian centuries after the third, — a dualism like that created in Hebrew history by the

opposition between the morality of ritualism and that of propheticism. This conflict, in its varying forms, the chief matter in the moral history of Christendom.

10. The creation of specific Christian types (monastic, chivalric, etc.) through an exaggerated emphasis laid upon some particular virtue or virtues, the absorption of pagan elements, racial influences, etc.

11. The subordinate place in the ideal assigned the civic and intellectual virtues. The Church takes the place of the city as the object of moral enthusiasm and self-devotion, and faith is substituted for reason. Man's celestial citizenship determines the sphere of his moral activities, while the subjection of the individual judgment and conscience to the deified authority of the Scriptures becomes a cardinal duty.

XIII

THE MORAL HISTORY OF THE AGE OF ASCETICISM

A. *Conceptions of Life, Religious Teachings, and Social Conditions that produced the Ascetic Ideal of Goodness; its Different Types*

1. General fostering causes of asceticism or the spirit of world renunciation.

2. Germs of asceticism in Christian teachings.

3. The social and moral state of the Græco-Roman world.

4. The chief virtues of the ascetic ideal; the eremitic and the monastic type.

5. The moral standard for the ordinary life.

B. *The Moral Life of the Period*

6. Monasticism and the new social conscience. Moral qualities conserved and cradled in the medieval monasteries.

7. The new conscience condemns and finally suppresses the gladiatorial games. "There is scarcely any other reform so important in the moral history of mankind" (*Lecky*).

8. The new conscience condemns the exposition of infants and suicide.

9. The great missionary propaganda of the centuries from the sixth to the ninth as an expression of Christian altruism. The significance of this movement in the moral history of the European nations; a new religion means a new conscience.

10. The lives of the saints. "They are a forcible protest in flesh and blood against the tyranny of the grosser nature" (*Leslie Stephens*).

11. Almsgiving and the founding of charitable institutions another expression of the altruistic spirit of the new religion.

12. Mitigations of slavery. The new religion effected, during the period under review, ameliorations in the lot of the slave; but the slave system, like the war system, passed over into Christian civilization as an unchanged heritage from the ancient world.

13. St. Augustine and his *City of God*. The influence of this work on the evolution of Christian morals. "All the arrogance, all the exclusiveness, all the privilege, for which the city of man no longer afforded any escape found a refuge in the city of God" (*Wedgwood*).

14. The broadening moral movement in progress in the ancient world is checked.

15. Loss of the virtue of toleration; the suppression (1) of liberty of worship, and (2) of freedom of thought (*Lecky*).

16. "Between moralities"; the moral anarchy of the Merovingian age. The new-forming ethical ideal.

XIV

THE ETHICS OF ISLAM

A. Religious Basis of the Moral System

1. The doctrine of the unity of God ; a pure ethical monotheism.
2. The dogma of salvation by belief.
3. An unchangeable moral law.

B. The Moral Code

4. General nature of the code ; it lays emphasis upon the performance of definitely prescribed acts.
5. The duty and the virtue of right belief.
6. Intolerance a virtue, and fighting for the true religion a cardinal duty. Mohammed frankly and without scruple adopted the war system of his time and race.
7. Provisions of the code respecting slavery.
8. Family morals ; polygamy is accepted and recognized as ethical ; infanticide, one of the worst evils of Arabian society, is positively prohibited.
9. The prohibition of gambling and the use of intoxicating liquors.
10. Animal ethics. In this department the code is on a level with the Hebrew code.

C. The Moral Practice

11. Mohammedan morality depressed by social and racial influences.
12. Influence upon Moslem history of the duty of fighting for the true faith.
13. Mitigation of Oriental barbarities in war.
14. Intolerance as the effect of religious principles.

15. The slave trade under Islam. "The recognition of the slave traffic by Mohammedanism has been, and is to this day, a curse to Africa and a source of disturbance to the world's politics" (*Hobhouse*).

16. Polygamy under Islam.

17. Drunkenness in Mohammedan countries. This vice, so common in Christian lands, is almost unknown in lands where the faith of the Koran is dominant.

18. Moslem charity.

19. The favorable moral influence of Islam upon races on or near the level of savagery.

20. Disastrous effects upon Mohammedan morality of a moral code conceived as sacred and unchangeable.

XV

THE MORAL LIFE OF EUROPE DURING THE AGE OF CHIVALRY

A. *The Moral Ideal of Knighthood and its Adoption by the Church*

1. The ideal of chivalry; a composite ideal made up of pagan and Christian virtues.

2. Importance of its adoption and consecration by the Church.

3. The genius of Christianity opposed to the war spirit; its doctrine of nonresistance a new moral principle, unknown to pre-Christian civilizations (*Veblen*).

4. Influences that fostered the growth of a military spirit in the Church: (1) the heritage of the war ethics of the ancient world; (2) the military spirit of the German race; (3) the war records of the Old Testament; and (4) the armed propaganda of Islam.

B. *The Chief Moral Phenomena of the Period*

5. Influence of the ideal of chivalry upon the history of the epoch.

6. Chivalry and the crusades. The true crusading knight the incarnation of the best conscience of the time.

7. Romance literature as an expression of the ethical spirit of the age. The legend of the Holy Grail.

8. Contribution of chivalry to the moral heritage of the Christian world. The idealization of woman.

9. Growing disuse of the trial by wager of battle.

10. Restrictions on the right of private war ; the Truce of God.

11. Progress in the ethics of war ; sale into slavery of Christian captives condemned.

12. What part moral motives played in the emancipation of the serfs.

13. Morality in the monasteries : the new orders ; the Cluny moral reform.

14. The moral significance of the rise of the mendicant orders. " There was need of the exaggeration of self-sacrifice taught by Francis to recall humanity to a sense of its obligations " (*Lea*).

15. The ethics of scholasticism.

XVI

RENAISSANCE MORALS: A REVIVAL OF THE GREEK IDEAL OF SELF-REALIZATION

A. Formative Influences

1. The Renaissance ; the new intellectual life.

2. The decay of feudalism and the rise of monarchy ; court life.

3. The growth of the towns ; the workshop and the market as molders of morals.

B. Leading Facts of the Moral History of the Age

4. Revival of the classical conception of life ; the new birth of the European conscience.

5. Theological morality ; the ethics of persecution.

6. Effects of the Inquisition upon the virtue of humanity and openmindedness ; the reintroduction of torture in criminal jurisprudence.

7. Political morality ; Machiavellian ethics. Influence of *The Prince* on public morals.
8. The ethical value of the ideal of the courtier.
9. The morality of industry and trade ; the moral standard of the trader gradually supersedes that of the knight.

XVII

THE ETHICAL IMPORT OF THE PROTESTANT REVOLUTION

A. *Principles of the Reformation of Import for Morals ; the Ethical Ideals of Catholicism and Protestantism Compared*

1. The principle of the self-sovereignty of the individual soul.
2. The reëmphasized principle of salvation by right belief.
3. Comparison of the moral ideal of Protestantism with that of Roman Catholicism.

B. *Some Special Ethical Outcomes of the Religious Reform*

4. The reform movement ultimately reënforces the ethical tendencies of the Renaissance. The duty of inquiry.
5. Protestantism brings into disesteem the monastic ideal of excellence.
6. Effects upon industrial morals of the dissolution of the monasteries.
7. Effects upon morals of the abolition of purgatory.
8. The effects of the religious reform upon the virtue of toleration.

XVIII

THE AGE OF ETHICAL RECONSTRUCTION: THE NEW
SOCIAL AND INTERNATIONAL CONSCIENCE*A. Determining Causes of the Ethical Movement*

1. The incoming of democracy. The essential ethical spirit of democracy the same as that of Christianity.
2. The new industrialism. "The causes which most disturbed or accelerated the moral progress of society in antiquity were the appearance of great men; in modern times they have been the appearance of great inventions" (*Lecky*).
3. The doctrine of evolution.
4. General intellectual progress.
5. The decline of dogmatic theology.
6. Growing intimacy of international relations.

*B. Ethical Readjustments in Different Domains of Life
and Thought**I. The Ethics of Democracy.*

7. Moral nature of the causes of the democratic revolution; the ethical implications of the watchwords of democracy, — "rights," "liberty," "equality."
8. The ethics of democracy rejects class morality.
9. The ethical import of education by the state; the secularization of morals.
10. The moralization of government; the democratic state assumes the social-ethical functions of the Church.

II. The Ethics of Industrialism.

11. The union of modern industry and science.
12. The divorce of modern industry and ethics; economic Machiavellism.

13. How the new industrialism has tended to make the economic life unmoral.

14. Modification of ethical judgments respecting various principles and conventions of modern industrialism.

15. Socialism as an expression of these new ethical feelings and convictions.

III. *The Ethics of Science.*

16. Influence of science upon the growth of the virtue of intellectual sincerity.

17. Egoistic tendencies of the doctrine of evolution through the survival of the fittest. The Nietzsche superman.

18. Altruism versus egoism in the cosmic process. "Besides the law of mutual struggle there is in nature the law of mutual aid" (*Kropotkin*).

19. Evolution and animal ethics.

IV. *The Purification and Secularization of the Ethics of Religion.*

20. The progressive moralization of the idea of God. "Old theology is always becoming new in the vitalizing influence of ethics" (*Newman Smyth*).

21. The moralization of the conception of hell.

22. Exchange in rank of the theological and the natural virtues.

23. Extension to religious ethics of the principle of individual responsibility.

V. *Social Ethics: the Growth of the New Social Conscience.*

24. As shown in the history of the African slave trade and of negro slavery.

25. As shown in society's treatment of its unfortunate and delinquent members: from vagrant laws to associated charities; from burning of witches to asylums for the insane; from the dungeon to the reformatory (*Henderson*).

26. As shown in changed sentiment respecting dueling, the lottery, gambling, and the liquor traffic.

VI. *Progress in International Ethics.*

27. The growing assimilation of international to private morality.

28. The gradual ethicizing of the relations of the advanced to the backward races — "the white man's burden."

29. Progress in war ethics. Hugo Grotius's *Peace and War*; the Geneva conventions (1864 and 1868).

30. Movement for the abolition of war — a moral issue. The Hague conferences (1899 and 1907).

31. "The moral damage of war."

32. Obsolescence of war as a school of moral discipline.

33. The ethical kinship of men the true basis of the universal state. The nation state, like the clan state and the city state, but a passing phase of the moral evolution of mankind.

RECOMMENDED READINGS

The books here named include only works in English, and such as are easily accessible to the student. The list is restricted to works bearing on the history of the moral life of mankind, and hence the omission of the classical works on the philosophy of ethics or on the history of ethical theories. A few works, however, whose aim is the systematic exposition of ethical principles are referred to, but only when they contain facts illustrating phases of the moral evolution which is the subject of the foregoing lectures.

I. Introduction. — HOBHOUSE, *Morals in Evolution*, 1906, vol. i. LECKY, *History of European Morals*, 3d ed., vol. i, pp. 130-160. MACCUNN, *The Making of Character*, 1908, pt. ii, ch. ix, "Educational Value of Moral Ideals." EMERSON, *Essays on The Sovereignty of Ethics and Character*. THILLY, *Introduction to Ethics*, ch. i, "The Nature and Method of Ethics"; a manual designed as an introduction to philosophical ethics, yet containing facts and comments valuable to the student of the history of morals. SIDGWICK, *Outlines of the History of Ethics*, 1886; this is a history of ethical speculation, but much can be gathered from it respecting the history of the common moral consciousness of different ages and peoples. SELIGMAN, *The Economic Interpretation of History*, 2d ed., 1907.

II. The Dawn of Morality: Conscience in the Kinship Group. — DEWEY and TUFTS, *Ethics*, pt. i, "Early Group Life"; ch. iv, "Group Morality — Custom and Mores." WUNDT, *Ethics — The Facts of the Moral Life*, pt. i, ch. iii, "Custom and the Moral Life." DARWIN, *The Descent of Man*, chs. iv and v. THOMAS, *Sex and Society*, 1907, "Sex and Primitive Morality," pp. 149-172. SUMNER, *Folkways*, 1907. HOBHOUSE, *Morals in Evolution*, pt. ii, ch. ii, pp. 50-75, "Ethical Conceptions in Early Thought." WAKE, *The Evolution of Morality*, 1878, vol. i, pt. i, chs. i-vii. MACKENZIE, *A Manual of Ethics*, 4th ed., bk. i, ch. iv, "The Evolution of Conduct"; ch. v, "The Growth of the Moral Judgment." COULANGES, *FUSTEL DE, The Ancient City*, bk. ii, ch. ix, "The Morals of the Ancient Family."

III. The Moral Life of Ancient Egypt. — PETRIE, *Religion and Conscience in Ancient Egypt*, 1898, lect. v, "The Nature of Conscience"; lect. vi, "The Inner Duties"; lect. vii, "The Outer Duties." *The Egyptian Book of the Dead*, tr. DAVIS, ch. cxxv, for the Negative Confession. *Records of the Past*, New Series, vol. iii, pp. 1-35, for the moral precepts of Ptahotep. BUDGE, *Egyptian Ideas of the Future Life*, 1899, ch. iv, "The Judgment of the Dead." TAYLOR, *Ancient Ideals*, vol. i, pp. 22-25.

IV. The Morality of the Babylonians and Assyrians. — *The Code of Hammurabi*, tr. Harper. JASTROW, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, 1898, ch. xviii, "Penitential Psalms," and ch. xxvii, pp. 693-696, for a brief summary of the moral code. KING, *Babylonian Religion and Mythology*, 1899, ch. vi, "The Duty

of Man to his God and to his Neighbor." SAYCE, *The Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia*, 1903, pt. ii, ch. x, "Astro-Theology and the Moral Element in Babylonian Religion," pp. 487-501. TAYLOR, *Ancient Ideals*, ch. ii, pp. 35-44.

V. Chinese Morals: an Ideal of Filial Piety. — *The Chinese Classics*, tr. Legge, 2d ed., vol. i, "Confucian Analects," "The Great Learning," and "The Doctrine of the Mean"; vol. ii, "The Works of Mencius." *The Sacred Books of the East*, ed. Max Müller, vol. iii, "The Hsiao King or Classic of Filial Piety." MARTIN, *The Lore of Cathay*, 1901, bk. iii, ch. xii, "The Ethical Philosophy of the Chinese." HOBHOUSE, *Morals in Evolution*, pt. ii, ch. v, "Ethical Idealism." WUTTKE, *Christian Ethics*, tr. Lacroix, 1873, vol. i, § 7, pp. 43-47.

VI. Japanese Morals: an Ideal of Loyalty. — NITOBÉ, *Bushido: The Soul of Japan*, 10th ed., 1905; Bushido is the Japanese knightly ideal of character, — the moral code of the samurai which is profoundly influencing the morality of new Japan. GRIFFIS, *The Religion of Japan*, 4th ed., ch. iv, "The Chinese Ethical System in Japan"; ch. v, "Confucianism in its Philosophical Form." SCHERER, *What is Japanese Morality?*, 1906. *The Outlook*, July, 1908, pp. 395-400, "On the Business Morals of Japan," by George Trumbull Ladd. HEARN, LAFCADIO, *Out of the East*. SAKURAI, *Human Bullets*; a narrative of personal experience in the Russo-Japanese War illustrative of the moral quality of Japanese patriotism.

VII. The Ethical Ideals of India. — For the ethics of Brahmanism: *The Ramayana and the Mahabharata*, condensed and translated by Romesh C. Dutt. "Rama and Sita [the hero and heroine of the *Ramayana*] are the Hindu ideals of a perfect man and a perfect woman; their truth under trials and temptations, their endurance under privations, and their devotion to duty under all vicissitudes of fortune, form the Hindu ideal of a perfect life. In this respect the *Ramayana* gives us a true picture of Hindu faith and righteous life, as Dante's *Divine Comedy* gives us a picture of the faith and belief of the Middle Ages in Europe" (Dutt). *The Sacred Books of the East*, ed. Max Müller, vol. xxv, "The Laws of Manu." HOPKINS, *The Religions of India*, 1895, *passim*. HOBHOUSE, *Morals in Evolution*, pt. ii, ch. iii, "The World and the Spirit." WEDGWOOD, *The Moral Ideal*, 2d ed., ch. i, "India and the Primal Unity." TAYLOR, *Ancient Ideals*, ch. iii, "India."

For the ethics of Buddhism: *The Sacred Books of the East*, ed. Max Müller, 2d ed., pt. i, vol. x, "The Dharmmapala." RHYS, DAVIDS, *Buddhism, its History and Literature*, 1896, especially lects. iv and v; and *The Hibbert Lectures for 1881*. HARDY, *A Manual of Buddhism*, 1880, ch. x, "The Ethics of Buddhism." WARREN, *Buddhism in Translation*, 1896, *passim*. TAYLOR, *Ancient Ideals*, ch. iv, "The Buddha."

VIII. The Ethics of Zoroastrianism: an Ideal of Combat. — *The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. iv, 2d ed., "The Zend-Avesta," pt. i, "The Vendidad." WEDGWOOD, *The Moral Ideal*, 2d ed., ch. ii, "Persia and the Religion of Combat." PAULSEN, *System of Ethics*, tr. Thilly, ch. iv. CUMONT, *The Mysteries of Mithra*, tr. McCormack.

IX. The Moral Evolution in Israel: an Ideal of Obedience. — In the case of Israel religion and morality were so closely united that the history of the religious development is necessarily a history also of the ethical. Hence the history of

the moral evolution must be sought in the comprehensive general histories of Israel; after the *Old Testament*, however, the following works of small compass will meet the first needs of the nonspecial student: BUDDE, *The Religion of Israel to the Exile*; CHEYNE, *Jewish Religious Life after the Exile*; CORNILL, *History of the People of Israel*, tr. Carruth; and DUFF, *The Theology and Ethics of the Hebrews*. In connection with these the student should read HOBHOUSE, *Morals in Evolution*, pt. ii, ch. iv, "Monotheism" (first part); DEWEY and TUFTS, *Ethics*, ch. vi, "The Hebrew Moral Development"; and TOY, *Judaism and Christianity*, ch. v, "Ethics" (first part).

X. The Moral Consciousness of Hellas: an Ideal of Self-Realization. — The facts illustrating the moral evolution in ancient Greece must be gleaned from the whole field of Greek history, literature, and philosophy. The following works, however, will indicate the general nature of the movement and suggest to the student viewpoints: ARISTOTLE, *Nicomachean Ethics*, tr. Weldon. *The Dialogues of Plato*, tr. Jowett, "The Republic," "Laws," and "Gorgias"; all these are of the deepest interest to the student of the Greek moral ideal. PLUTARCH, *Morals*, tr. Shillito. WEDGWOOD, *The Moral Ideal*, ch. iii, "Greece and the Harmony of Opposites." SIDGWICK, *History of Ethics*, ch. ii, "Greek and Græco-Roman Ethics." DAVIDSON, *The Education of the Greek People*, 1894, ch. ii, "Greek Life and its Ideals"; ch. v, "The Effort to find in Individualism a Basis of Social Order." Much information on the moral life of Hellas will be found in MAHAFFY, *Greek Life and Thought and Social Life of the Greeks*. ZELLER, *The Stoics, Epicureans and Sceptics*, tr. Reichel, 1892, pt. ii, chs. x-xii, for the ethics of the Stoics; and pt. iii, chs. xix and xx, for the ethics of the Epicureans. HOBHOUSE, *Morals in Evolution*, pt. ii, ch. vi, "Philosophic Ethics." PAULSEN, *A System of Ethics*, tr. Thilly, bk. i, ch. i, "The Conception of Life and Moral Philosophy among the Greeks." DEWEY and TUFTS, *Ethics*, ch. vii, "The Moral Development of the Greeks." WUNDT, *Ethics — The Facts of the Moral Life*, pp. 100-112, on ideas of life after death and the development of the ideas of reward and punishment. GREEN, *Prolegomena to Ethics*, ed. Bradley, 5th ed., bk. iii, ch. v, "The Greek and the Modern Conception of Virtue"; this chapter has been justly characterized as "the most original and suggestive chapter in the whole of that great work." For some remarks on the limitations of the Greek moral ideal, see SMYTH, *Christian Ethics*, pp. 129-134. *International Journal of Ethics*, April, 1902, "The Ethical Value of Hellenism," by Alfred W. Benn.

XI. Roman Morals: an Ideal of Justice. — CICERO, *Offices, or Moral Duties*, tr. Edmonds. Of this work Sidgwick says, "There is no ancient treatise which has done more to communicate a knowledge of ancient morals." MARCUS AURELIUS, *Meditations*, tr. Long. SENECA, *Minor Dialogues*, tr. Stewart; see essay, "On Clemency." EPICETUS, *Discourses*, tr. Long. SIDGWICK, *History of Ethics*, ch. ii, §§ 19-21. LECKY, *History of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne*, 3d ed., vol. i, ch. ii, "The Pagan Empire"; ch. iii, "The Conversion of Rome." This work is the most valuable contribution that has yet been made to the history of morals. WEDGWOOD, *The Moral Ideal*, 2d ed., ch. iv, "Rome and the Reign of Law"; ch. v, "The Age of Death." DILL, *Roman*

Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius, 1904, later chapters; and FRIEDLAENDER, *Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire*, tr. Magnus, 1908, 3 vols.; both these works contain valuable ethical information, but it is mixed with much other matter. WESTERMARCK, *Origin and Development of Moral Ideas*, vol. ii, ch. xxxv, "Suicide"; a historical survey. ZELLER, *The Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics*, tr. Reichel, 1892, chs. x-xii, on Stoic ethics; chs. xix and xx, on Epicurean ethics. DAVIDSON, *The Stoic Creed*, 1907, chs. vii-x, on the ethical system of the Stoics.

XII. The Ethics of Christianity: an Ideal of Self-Sacrifice. — PAULSEN, *System of Ethics*, tr. Thilly, bk. i, ch. ii, "The Christian Conception of Life." SIDGWICK, *History of Ethics*, ch. iii, §§ 1-4, pp. 107-125, "Christianity and Mediæval Ethics." SCHMIDT, *The Prophet of Nazareth*.

XIII. The Moral History of the Age of Asceticism. — LECKY, *History of European Morals*, 3d ed., vol. ii, ch. iv, "From Constantine to Charlemagne," pp. 1-247. SIDGWICK, *History of Ethics*, ch. iii, § 5. PAULSEN, *A System of Ethics*, tr. Thilly, bk. i, ch. iii, portrays the change in the moral consciousness of the Græco-Roman world which prepared the masses for the acceptance of the moral ideal of Christianity. WEDGWOOD, *The Moral Ideal*, ch. viii, "The Fall of Man." From KINGSLEY, *The Hermits*, and WISHART, *A Short History of Monks and Monasteries*, the student will gain some idea of the difference between the hermits' conception of good life and that of the monk. For a more extended study of the ethical phase of Christian asceticism, the student should turn to the lives of the saints as portrayed in MONTALEMBERT, *The Monks of the West*.

XIV. The Ethics of Islam. — *The Sacred Books of the East*, vols. vi and ix, "The Qur'ân," tr. Palmer. The Koran holds the original ethical system of Islam just as the New Testament holds the original ethical system of Christianity. One of the best commentaries upon the system is SYED AMEER ALI, *The Spirit of Islam; or, the Life and Teachings of Mohammed*, 2d ed., 1895. CARLYLE, *Heroes and Hero-Worship*, lect. ii, "The Hero as Prophet." We have impressed upon us here the fact that every great religious revolution in its essential spirit is a moral reform. The burden of the Prophet's message, as interpreted by Carlyle, is "the infinite nature of duty." SMITH, R. B., *Mohammed and Mohammedanism*, 1875, shows the modification the moral code has undergone in the course of time under the various influences that have shaped the history of the Mohammedan world. *The World's Parliament of Religions* (the Columbian Exposition of 1893), vol. ii, pp. 1046-1052, for a favorable view of Islamic morality.

XV. The Moral Life of Europe during the Age of Chivalry. — LECKY, *History of European Morals*, 3d ed., vol. ii, ch. iv, pp. 247-274. PAULSEN, *A System of Ethics*, tr. Thilly, bk. i, ch. iv, "The Middle Ages and their Conception of Life." GARROD, *The Religion of all Good Men*, 1906, first essay, "Christian, Greek, or Goth?" DEWEY and TUFTS, *Ethics*, ch. viii, pp. 142-149. SIDGWICK, *History of Ethics*, ch. iii, §§ 5-11, on the development of scholastic or ecclesiastical ethics. DANTE, *Divine Comedy*, tr. Longfellow.

XVI. Renaissance Morals: a Revival of the Greek Ideal of Self-Realization. — LECKY, *History of the Rise and the Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe*, ed. 1890, vol. i, ch. iii, pp. 315-352, for what the author calls the emotional

antecedents of persecution, — the medieval conception of hell; ch. iv, pt. i, for what he terms the logical antecedents, — the dogmas of hereditary guilt and the criminality of wrong beliefs; vol. ii, ch. iv, pt. ii, for the history of persecution. FISKE, *Excursions of an Evolutionist*, ch. viii, "The Causes of Persecution." LEA, *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, vol. i, ch. v, pp. 233-242, on the motives of the persecution. MACHIAVELLI, *The Prince*. MORLEY, *Machiavelli: The Romanes Lecture for 1897*. CASTIGLIONE, *The Book of the Courtier*, 1528, tr. Opdycke; we have here portrayed the qualities and virtues of "the perfect courtier without flaw."

XVII. The Ethical Import of the Protestant Revolution. — SIDGWICK, *History of Ethics*, ch. iii, § 12, pp. 151-154, shows how the Reformation helped to bring in a morality "relying solely on the common reason and the common moral experience of mankind." NASH, *Genesis of the Social Conscience*, 1897, ch. vii, "The Creation of the Reformer's Conscience." FISKE, *Excursions of an Evolutionist*, chs. ix and x, "The Origins of Protestantism" and "The True Lesson of Protestantism."

XVIII. The Age of Ethical Reconstruction: the New Social and International Conscience. — For a general survey: PAULSEN, *A System of Ethics*, tr. Thilly, bk. i, ch. v, "The Modern Conception of Life." DEWEY and TUFTS, *Ethics*, ch. viii, pp. 151-169, and chs. xx-xxvi, pp. 427-606. HOBHOUSE, *Morals in Evolution*, pt. ii, ch. vii, "Modern Ethics." WESTERMARCK, *The Origin and Development of Moral Ideas*, vol. i, ch. xxi, "The Duel"; ch. xxvii, pp. 704-716, on negro slavery; vol. ii, ch. xlv, "Regard for the Lower Animals." HARRIS, *Moral Evolution*, 1896. POST, *Ethics of Democracy*.

For the ethics of industrialism: ROSS, *Sin and Society*, 1907. HADLEY, *Standards of Public Morality*, 1907, ch. ii, "The Ethics of Trade," and ch. iii, "Ethics of Corporate Management." *The International Journal of Ethics*, January, 1910, vol. xx, No. 2, "Christian Morals and the Competitive System," by Thorstein Veblen. *Morals in Modern Business*, Page Lecture Series, 1908, Yale University.

For the ethics of science: SCHURMAN, *The Ethical Import of Darwinism*, 1887. HUXLEY, *Evolution and Ethics — Romanes Lecture for 1893*. BIXBY, *The Crisis in Morals*, 1891, pt. ii, "The Positive Reconstruction of Ethics on the Basis of Evolution and Scientific Knowledge." EVANS, *Evolutional Ethics and Animal Psychology*, 1898. WILLIAMS, *A Review of the System of Ethics founded on the Theory of Evolution*, 1893, pt. ii, chs. v-ix. *The International Journal of Ethics*, July, 1909, "Some Criticisms of the Nietzsche Revival," by Herbert L. Stewart. KROPOTKIN, *Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution*, ed. 1909. FISKE, *Through Nature to God*, pt. ii, "The Cosmic Roots of Love and Self-Sacrifice." The author's thesis is that "the cosmic process exists solely for the sake of moral ends." DRUMMOND, *The Ascent of Man*, 1894.

For social ethics: under this head we cite only works which disclose the ethical spirit that informs the social movement. PEABODY, *The Approach to the Social Question*, 1909. DU BOIS, *The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America*, 1904. JANE ADDAMS, *Democracy and Social Ethics*, 1907. LLOYD, *Man, the Social Creator*, 1906. SMYTH, NEWMAN, *Christian Ethics*, 1892,

pt. ii, ch. iv, "The Social Problem and Christian Duties." SCUDDER, *Social Ideals in English Letters*, pt. ii, traces in literature the awakening of the new social conscience. RUSKIN, *Unto this Last*. CARLYLE, *Past and Present*, bk. iii. SPARGO, *The Spiritual Significance of Modern Socialism*, 1908. KIDD, *Social Evolution*, 2d ed., 1894. WELLS, *New Worlds for Old*, 1909. DOLE, *The Ethics of Progress*.

For international ethics: There is already an extensive literature on this subject, especially on the peace movement (see publications of the International School of Peace, Ginn and Company, Boston; and titles of works given in each issue of *The Advocate of Peace*, 31 Beacon street, Boston). We name only a few works of special import for the present study. SCOTT, *The Hague Peace Conferences of 1899 and 1907*. HULL, *The Two Hague Conferences*. SPENCER, *The Principles of Ethics*, pt. ii, ch. i, "The Confusion of Ethical Thought." The author shows how this confusion of thought arises from the conflict between our ordinary code of ethics and our war code. DYMOND, *Essays on Principles of Morality*, abridged ed. of 1896, pt. iii, essay iii, ch. x, on the moral consequences of war. WALSH, *The Moral Damage of War*. JORDAN, *The Human Harvest*. JANE ADAMS, *The Newer Ideals of Peace*.



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